114 The Tupí tribe found by a bandeira [Tr., pioneering expedi-
175 tion] that left São Paulo in 1613 lived not far from the mouth of the Itacaiunas, namely, on the right bank of the Araguaia, two leagues above its confluence with the Tocantins. The account of this meeting, published only recently by Serafim Leite (1, 103-110), is as far as I know the first reference to a Tupí tribe on the Araguaia. According to Taunay (181-192), several bandeiras left São Paulo between the beginning of the seventeenth century and the departure of the above-mentioned expedition. The data relating to these expeditions are so defective, however, that it is possible to identify the place names on the itinerary only in a few cases. Among the few expeditions which may thus be identified, there is not one to the Araguaia. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The above-mentioned document dealing with the 1613 expedition, recently published by Father Leite, was written by the Jesuit Antonio de Araujo and covers the information provided by Pero Domingues, one of the 30 inhabitants of the São Paulo settlement who made up the expedition. Referring to "seven very large villages" found by the
175 travelers "about two leagues from the bar of the Iabeberi," that is, the Tocantins (cf. Leite 1, 101), the report goes on to say (ibid., 105-106): "The Indians in these villages were called Caatingas. Their language was the tongue common to these shores. Our men found
[439] among them many iron tools, scythes, wedges, axes, many glass beads, and large quantities of Rouen shirts, along with numerous hats, all of which they said they had obtained in trade from the French for feathers and arrows, of which they had many canoefuls in their houses, and also for cotton. They asserted that the French were at a distance of only 11 days' journey down-river and lived in a fortress they had built many years previously, and added that they had a sugar mill and made sugar from the cane plantations they owned. They
[648] confessed that they had put to death seven Frenchmen who must have fled the fortress of their countrymen, at whose request the Indians killed them. And, without being asked, they said that so many days' journey away, on another arm of the same Pará River, lived those whom we call Almazonas and whom they call [98:108] Camaĩma, that is to say, 'breastless women.' They also stated that there were large numbers of villages down-river on both sides of the stream, and
175 that they were not scarce up-river but toward the interior. The in-
648 habitants of the seven villages sent messengers forthwith to the other

000 Only the Karajá, who will not part from their children under any circumstances, did not want to have anything to do with the school. Unfortunately, the mistake was made once of taking children from these Indians by force. As a result, they now keep all the children away whenever a ship comes by. At the time 175 648 of our visit, the institute was badly neglected. The headmaster treated the Indians as slaves and ordered them to work in his personal service. The forlorn boys were exposed to his brutality and to that of his friends. The girls had to attend to the pleasure of all their oppressors. Most of them had already borne children or were about to do so. No new Indians had appeared for a long time, for the outrages of the White civilizers had increasingly kept them away. Most of the school Indians had already reached the age of 30, but not one of them thought of leaving. Trained all along to slavery and tutelage, they carried on their services with dumb indolence. Of course, there was no longer any question of teaching. The cattle had been stolen or had run away. The funds provided by the government ended up in the headmaster's pocket. Later, [99:71] Dr. Baggi, who as a good republican attempted to uncover and prosecute all the abuses of the current regime, achieved the suppression of the institute."

Although a few Tapirapé individuals encountered Whites during the nineteenth century, there is no evidence that the latter had any direct contact at that time with the bulk of the tribe. Ehrenreich (5), who in his classification cited above, published in 1891, includes the Tapirapé among the "Central Tupí," confesses as late as 1905 that they are known only by hearsay and this makes it impossible to state whether they are related to the Eastern or the Central Tupí. He adds that possibly they are a separate group that originated in Pará or Maranhão.

The few Tapirapé who were seen by Whites during the first ten years of this century were chiefly women and children abducted by the Karajá. Krause (2, 320 and 404) says that the [439] Karajá carried out these abductions at the times when the men of the Tupí tribe left their families to go and trade with them on a sand bar of the Tapirapé River. The captive women served them as laborers and sexual partners, and the resulting children became part of the tribe. Some of those women and children were made 175 726 prisoners in the course of an attack when the Karajá killed several

171 bone ornaments mentioned above. Its width is 27 millimeters.
301 The thin part of the tembetá is 14 millimeters wide at the point where it begins to swell to form the crosspiece.

Ehrenreich (1, 10-11 and Fig. 2a), in his monograph on the Karajá, reproduces a complete specimen and makes the following remarks: "The most precious lip ornament, which is only worn on festive occasions and which is carefully kept at other times wrapped in cotton, is a long and heavy tembetá (manutere) of rosy hyalite or quartz whose T-shaped tip is introduced into the lower lip, while the conical plug hangs underneath. The largest of the four specimens in the collection is 17.5 centimeters long. The [439] Karajá do not make these lip stones but trade for them from the Tapirapé. The elevations on the left bank of the river (Araguaia), such as the Caiapó Range, abound in this material."

The specimen reproduced by Krause (2, Fig. 62) resembles the one just mentioned. The author notes in this connection (ibid., 223-224): "Unmarried men alone use these tembetás, which they wear only at special festivities. When they marry, they present them to a young kinsman. The stone tembetá is very thick, and [304] requires previous enlargement of the lip opening. To achieve this, the Indians wear increasingly thick wooden tembetá. I saw a single specimen of a stone tembetá among the northern band. I was unable to acquire it. It was only long after leaving their village that I heard of a specimen extant among the southern band. [439] These tembetás are not made by the Karajá but by the Tapirapé, from whom the Karajá of the northern band trade for them. The people of the southern band, in turn, purchase them from the latter. They say that the current price is a dugout, an axe, a pot, and a bush knife, in short, it is very high..." [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 78 and the first two paragraphs on p. 79 are omitted.]

[109:79] The same author [Métraux] states (2, 167-168): "Among the present-day Tupi-Guarani, the Tapirapé alone have tembetás comparable in shape and material to those of the Tupinambá." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

To summarize, the manufacture of quartz tembetá is a Tapirapé culture trait. We know of no such trait among other present-day Tupi cultures or among tribes neighboring the Tapirapé, with the exception of the northern Kayapó. Their stone tembetá,

171 however, differ from those of the Tapirapé in lacking a "plug."
301 I know of no such "plugs" on the stone lip cylinders of the ancient Tupinambá. Those found on the São Paulo coast and in the vicinity of of Bahia, reproduced by H. von Ihering (apud Wegner 3, 34, Fig. 5), do not have any. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 79, p. 80, and the first two paragraphs on p. 81 are omitted.]

[109:81] To summarize, it may be said that among the Tapirapé, just as among the Tupinambá, Karajá, and Kayapó, the tembetá is an exclusively male ornament that varies in its shape and material according to the age of the wearer. The Tapirapé differ from the Tupinambá in that adults do not have the coin-shaped stone tembetá mentioned by Léry. As far as material, shape, and size are concerned, the differences between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Kayapó tembetá are, on the whole, greater than the resemblances. The Central Tupi differ from the Tapirapé in not having any lip ornaments.

The arm and leg ornaments made of cotton dyed with urucú are a striking link between the Tapirapé and Karajá cultures. They are everyday ornaments worn by both sexes. Among the Karajá, according to [109:82] Krause (2, 226), they are "the distinctive badge of unmarried men, therefore used from earliest childhood until marriage, and in widowhood." The same author (ibid.) adds, however, that these bands may also be used by married men "if their wives are pleased with them."

Among the Tapirapé, I saw married men wearing the cotton ornaments called tamankurá in their language. This name covers three different kinds, namely, the bracelet, the garter, and the
[462] ankle band. They are all made by the women with the crochet
[412] needle (chuúnia, chu meaning "thorn"), which was originally made
• [439] of bone and today, as a result of White imports, may also be of metal. Among the Karajá, this is also woman's work (cf. ibid.).

The bracelets (dexí in Karajá) are cylinders with reinforced, outcurving edges. Each of the two bracelets that had been worn by a Tapirapé man and are reproduced in Photograph 14b is 14 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end, and 17 at the lower end, while the upper edge is four centimeters wide and the lower one two and a half centimeters wide. The initial phase of their manufacture is shown in Photograph 11.

224 plots or at some task in the village, he would be on the lookout in the jungle or in the scrub forest. Some younger men also went hunting from time to time, but Kanchovani stood out as a specialist, a hunter par excellence.

Aside from individual hunting, there are collective hunts carried out by a few men (Photo. 24) or by the work groups.

The hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow and club. While traveling, the Indian usually takes along a bow and arrow, and often a club as well. On August 5, when we met a pair of jaguars as we marched from the village to the river, Kamairá and Chapokó ran after them with bow and club in hand. On July 14, a Tapirapé killed a wild pig with a club.

411 The bow (vuirampana) shown in Figure 13 and in Photographs 25, 26, 27, and 29 is typical [112:52] [Fig. 13 appears here.] [112:53] In the specimen shown in Photograph 29, the stave of patí palm wood (Syagrus botryophora), tantaú or tantayva in Tapirapé, is 175 centimeters long, and its circumference is eight centimeters in the center part, five centimeters near the notches at the ends, and three and a half at the tips, of which the upper one is four and a half and the lower one three and a half centimeters long. The cross-section is circular. The cord of vegetable matter (iniyma, ámayma) is 162 centimeters long. Sometimes it is rubbed with the greasy urucú paste, and this is done even more frequently to the bow stave and to the club. On certain bows made [531] with special care, which are used by the dance leaders as decorative weapons and to mark time, the cord is whitened all over (Photos. 4, 68, 69).

171 411 Krause (2, 264) gives the length of the Karajá bow cord as 184-204 centimeters. Except for its size, this bow is identical to that of the Tapirapé. In Meyer's (3, 8) classification, these bows belong to the "eastern Brazilian" type. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

439 Krause (2, 262) writes as follows about the palm wood of which the Karajá bow stave is made: "They say that this wood (olotó, woaluó) grows only in the Tapirapé area. In any case, according to their unanimous assertion, the Indians of the southern band obtain their bows, or the materials for them, from the Karajá of the northern band or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only from the northern band, for among the

[Text continues on p. 98]

439 southern band they were regarded as precious articles." This may explain why Nuerehí, a Karajá about 50 years old and an inhabitant of Beroromandú, a village located near Santa Teresinha, asked me to bring him a bow and a handful of arrows from the Tapirapé, stating that these objects were better in the Tupi tribe than in his own. I already mentioned in Chapter 2 that, according to Krause (2, 456), the word uohú, with which the Karajá designate the Tapirapé, means "arrow." This may possibly refer to their capacity as arrow suppliers.

[101]

The arrows (oyva) of these Indians, shown in Photographs 27, 29, and 30, resemble the corresponding Karajá and Kayapó arrows described by Krause (2, 264-270, 392-393). The corresponding arrows are the barbed ones and those with a simple, rounded, wooden tip. I have not seen any Tapirapé arrows like the two encountered by the same author (2, 411 and Fig. 270), of which one had a flat wooden tip with "barbs cut out on both sides and a double edge," while the other had a cane tip. Nor did I find [112:54] arrows with notched wooden tips among the Tapirapé, such as those Krause (2, 265) encountered among the Karajá. On the other hand, the bird arrow with a thick wax tip which that author (2, 247) noted in the same tribe is also used by the Tapirapé (see Photos. 25 and 26).

171/411

Like the Karajá, Kayapó (loc. cit., 267 and 392), and tribes of the Xingu headwaters (Von den Steinen 2, 229), the Tapirapé also make a kind of barbed arrow by fastening to the tip of the wooden part of the shaft, previously grooved laterally, a small piece of bone that is slightly curved and sharp at both ends. This piece is tied on, and the whole binding is covered with black resin. In the barbed Tapirapé arrows tipped with the spine of the sting-ray, the barb is not made with the spine also, as Krause (2, 393 and Fig. 249h) asserts of a Kayapó arrow that is similar but made of wood. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[314]

The length of barbed arrows with bone or sting-ray tips is roughly identical among the Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé. The tip, on the average, is six centimeters long, the wooden part of the shaft from 35 to 50 centimeters, and the cane part about one meter long.

[237]

The wooden rod bearing the arrow point (oyvanchí, chi meaning "point") is inserted into the cane stem (angkamanchyva) and

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411 secured there with resin. It was previously placed near the fire to be straightened out while still hot. As a rule, however, the rod becomes straight in general orientation only and remains crooked in one or several places. An essentially agricultural tribe like the Tapirapé does not make weapons with the care expended on such work by a hunting tribe, such as the Bororo, for example. The heat of the fire also serves to harden the wood, which is sometimes dyed red or black.

The section of the cane shaft that encircles the rod is bound [824] spirally with a narrow black strip of philodendron bark (vuamé) [314] glued on with resin. This covering is from nine to 16 centimeters long and makes the shaft stronger.

The feathered part (pepá or "wing," pe meaning "path," "direction," "forward motion," and pa meaning "hand") is, on the average, from 16 to 25 centimeters long. Like the Karajá and the Kayapó, the Tapirapé fasten two feathers in opposition to each [237] other at the extreme tip of the shaft. The feathers are usually those of macaws, hawks, or hoatzins. Their stems are tied to the shaft with cotton thread (inimá). The twisting of the feathers, which aims at spinning the arrow in flight, seldom covers a quarter of the shaft circumference and often does not even cover an eighth of it. The barbs of the feathers are crudely cut out ●[434] with scissors acquired from the Whites, and the half that juts out is broader than the other half. The stem of the feather is slit at the tip and glued to the cane covered with resin. Both spiral bindings of cotton thread are fastened to the shaft with resin. The front one is of [112:55] blackened cotton, about six centimeters long, and holds small red and sometimes yellow macaw breast feathers whose barbs extend backward, that is to say, inside the feathering. The rear binding is of white cotton, about one and a half centimeters long, and serves not only to secure the thinner part of the feather stems, but also to strengthen the tip of the arrow. This tip has an oblique notch (vuatachimeakáua), more than half a centimeter deep, that receives the bow cord. The binding reaches up to this notch, and its third function seems to be that of a tribal marking, for aside from the parallel threads it bears two crossed ones which are, as Krause (2, 270) heard among the Karajá, characteristic of the Tapirapé.

171 411 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

411 [724] [578] In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of 411 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only exceptionally 535 a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Furthermore, [721] when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of 411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and [137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried [683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

114 411 [439] [171] The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-hãia, "pointed stick," or mina, "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find the terms ibirãhaquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the [535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-mentioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolí) 171 411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

171 241 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned [177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé, 174 412 nor did I find anyone in Tampiitaua who had used them, or anyone who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the Ampanes, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that 174 412 439 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow") through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well (kyché-eté, from kyché, "knife," and eté, "real," an augmentative, the term kiché being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language] as quigce, by Montoya as quicé [author: i= y in our spelling], and by Stradelli as kicé). It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have [177] used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of all the procedures connected with them.

On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out 241 476 as a collective endeavor called apachirú by the Tapirapé (the puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas). The leader, Tanuapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

235 [113:198] I did not see any tamed animals in Tampiitaua. In my talks with the inhabitants, however, I gathered that, like Indians in general, they would have liked to have such animals, and that they had formerly owned various mammals and wild birds. The most important among these were the red-blue-and-green macaw (Ara chloroptera Gray, arana in Tapirapé), much rarer in the Araguaia basin than the blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna Lin., kaninê in Tapirapé), for the [113:199] former's red feathers are more highly prized as ornaments than the latter's blue and yellow ones. This is the case not only among the Tapirapé, 171 but also among the Karajá, and this is why shortly before my ar- 235 rival to the Araguaia a man of this tribe of canoemen had traded in a canoe, which at that time and in that area was worth from 50 to 100 milreis or one rifle, for the nestling of a red-blue-and- 459 green macaw. At the time when the Karajá traded regularly with the Tapirapé, these nestlings were one of the chief commodities of trade.

[412] [241] This trade, through which the Tupi tribe received iron articles in exchange for tamed macaws, urucú, hammocks, quartz tembetá, and other products of their industry, actually played a decisive role in their subsistence, owing especially to the importance of the iron tools in farming. In this respect, it was fortunate for the Tapirapé that they established direct contact with the Whites shortly after they broke relations with the Karajá. For the lack of iron tools among people who had never worked with stone axes would probably have led either to rash behavior in their "foreign relations," or to intratribal conflicts.

797 [412] Thus, as far as the subsistence of the Tapirapé is concerned, their most important relations with the Whites are their contacts with the Dominicans, which have occurred with some regularity every year or two since 1914 and which keep them supplied with the necessary tools. Actually, no real trading is involved in this case, since as a rule the Indians are not required to furnish any products of their industry in exchange for the materials, but only to pay attention to certain words and procedures peculiar to the Fathers. This 437 is not to say that they are ignorant of the concept of reciprocal trade 123 with the Whites. When I wanted to acquire an arrow for my collection, they not only knew how to set high prices, but also how to raise the value of the common object by calling it a "captain's

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

organisation, in technology, in ceremonial and religious life, in economics and, in fact, in almost all realms of life. In the space of a short paper it will be possible to indicate only a few of these modifications. One of the most striking changes has to do with the relations of the Tapirapé with their traditional enemies, the Carajá. In 1940 the Tapirapé told of their fear of the Carajá who had attacked them several times in the past, and Tapirapé men traveling along the Araguaya River with the writer hid in the bottom of the boat in fear of their traditional foe. No Tapirapé would have dared enter a Carajá village without the protection of a Brazilian. But in 1953 the new Tapirapé village was situated within six or seven kilometers of a Carajá village. Two Tapirapé youths, for lack of Tapirapé women of marriageable age, had married Carajá girls, and following the rule of matrilocal residence which both Carajá and Tapirapé cultures share they lived in the Carajá village and worked with their in-laws. Each day during my 1953 visit there were Carajá visitors in the Tapirapé village. They came to exchange fish, game or other items for Tapirapé manioc — for the Tapirapé are by tradition better gardeners than the Carajá. A friendly Carajá even joined the Tapirapé men to dance and sing during one of their ceremonials, and one evening a group of Tapirapé accepted the invitation of the Carajá to attend their wrestling matches on the beach in front of the Carajá village. One must conclude that old and traditional enmities and antagonisms between peoples can fade out easily and quickly unless there are deep-seated economic or territorial bases for such antagonisms.

177 574 648 [582] [434]

Another striking change between the Tapirapé in 1940 and those of 1953 was their recent adaptation to canoe travel. In 1940, the Tapirapé might have been classified as "foot Indians". They neither made nor owned canoes. Many Tapirapé were unable to swim. They were all most inept when forced to travel by canoe. In 1953, six Tapirapé men owned canoes they had acquired from the Carajá, some had to make canoes, and

177 481 177 501

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

with so few people holding the status positions of aboriginal Tapirapé society much specialised knowledge will be lost. This is true of shamanism, as explained above, and it is true of the weaving of baskets for which Tapirapé men were justly famous before 1940. In 1953, only two men of the tribe knew the art of basket making. In aboriginal times, it was a technique which men learned after adolescence (Tapirapé boys were not expected to learn the manly arts), and with the death of so many older men and the disintegration of Tapirapé society, few young men were able to study. Both of the young men who did learn produced baskets which in 1940 would have been considered distinctly inferior and few of the young men in 1953 showed an inclination to learn the art. Like many other aspects of the culture, Tapirapé basketry will probably be a "lost art" within a generation.

Before 1940, one of the striking aspects of Tapirapé culture recorded by both Baldus and myself was the complex set of rules governing food taboos. According to aboriginal Tapirapé culture, women and children are forbidden to eat venison as well as many other specific meats. Nowadays the Tapirapé frequently have beef, which they receive by trade from the Brazilian around the Indian post. As might be suspected, beef is equated with venison and it is taboo to Tapirapé women. Likewise, Tapirapé men who are the fathers of small children may eat neither venison nor beef. One Tapirapé male explained that "Even when we were hungry our women would not eat beef." But in view of their experience with other cultures (i. e., Carajá and Brazilian), such taboos are growing weaker. Hidden from their husbands, several Tapirapé women tested beef for the first time when offered it by the wife of the Indian officer, and several females have taken to eating it (and even venison) at the Indian Post pleading that their secret be kept from their husbands. And one Tapirapé male, the father of an infant, argued while eating venison that the taboo was not a logical one. Food taboos are still kept but

/320 cont./

13. Political Conditions.

Wars seem to have taken place only because of the abduction of women, for it was always reported that the men of the foe were killed, but women and children were brought back to the village. The position of the Karajá with respect to their neighbors in this respect is the following: with Boroto and southern Kayapó they do not seem to come into contact. With Chavánte battles occurred in which the Karajá always had the greater losses. With the Savajé of Bananal Island they are on friendly terms, whereas the Canoeiros, likewise on Bananal, are at present their most feared enemies. With the Tapirapé the Karajá formerly had friendly trade relations; the Karajá furnished iron goods and in return obtained net coverings, bows, stone lip-plugs, food, araras, etc. The Karajá took advantage of the occasion of this trading on a sandbank in the Tapirapé River, far from the village, to steal off in the meantime women and children who were busy in the plantings. The Tapirapé did not know for a long time who was abducting their women. About six or seven years ago the Karajá had again abducted five or six women; on the way home, the latter fled, but the Karajá pursued them and killed all but one who came back to the Tapirapé and reported that the Karajá were the abducters of the women. When, in the following year, the Karajá again undertook their trade journey to the Tapirapé, the latter apparently agreed to the transaction, but then fell upon the Karajá and killed several men. Since then all communication between the two tribes has ceased; the Karajá no longer journey to the trading place and the Tapirapé, too, have moved farther upstream.

With the northern Kayapó the Karajá likewise seem to live on a hostile footing. I did not hear any reports about former combats. But the antagonistic, rejecting attitude that my Karajá displayed toward the mission Kayapó in Conceição was striking.

T 175 119 /403 cont./ are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/ Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p. 188). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the river, five days above the mouth, there is another village of Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too, back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.

C 115 2. Information obtained /Erkundeten/. The information that I obtained from the Karajá was the following:

T 131 [201] The Tapirapé (in Karajá: [illegible]) live six to nine days' journey *in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya. From* the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, according to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their villages. T 105 They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves. Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back. The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá. Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black. They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. They are C [179] therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers. They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads into big balls, like those of the Karajá. The Karajá like to buy C T [197] their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black center stripe.

/404 cont./
center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs, food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé, opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago; since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and 263 appear here./

3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).

In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kĩwaã; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ in any way from those of the Karajá.

The club (ĩwĩrã, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the handle is grooved and likewise has two stripes with cross-lines and depressions.

[Text Continues on P. 339]

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of the Jesuits in 1759, the increased importation of African slaves into Maranhão eased the pressure for Indian slaves. Close relations with the missionaries, and later with the civil authorities and the rural Luso-Brazilian population, presented the Tenetehara with new culture patterns, new attitudes which either replaced aboriginal elements or were incorporated in their culture as alternative patterns. The missionaries urged larger families in order to have numerous innocents to baptize. Warfare was prohibited in the area. (4) The Tenetehara learned that children might be useful in collecting babassu nuts for sale to Luso-Brazilians. Steel instruments and new plants (such as rice, bananas, lemons, etc.) made agriculture more productive. The sale of babassu nuts, copaiba oil, and other forest products brought the Tenetehara imported products. Although Tenetehara culture and society were modified, the aboriginal and the borrowed elements slowly combined to form a new culture and a new social system which at least met the minimum requirements for survival.

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The Tapirapé, on the other hand, have had only intermittent contact with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911, the Tapirapé have had occasional contact with Luso-Brazilians. A few Tapirapé have visited Luso-Brazilian settlements and missionary stations on the Araguaya River and a few Luso-Brazilians have visited Tapirapé villages. Tapirapé contact with Luso-Brazilians has been limited to relatively short periods and to small groups of people. They have acquired a few axes, hoes, some salt, cloth, beads and other material objects from their occasional visitors but, on the whole, their culture was little modified by borrowed patterns and elements from Luso-Brazilians. Yet the presence of Luso-Brazilians brought about a crucial modification in their environment. With the arrival of Luso-Brazilians in the area, the Tapirapé were subjected to a series of foreign diseases. If the memory of older Tapirapé informants may be trusted, foreign disease (common colds, measles, and smallpox) came at first via the neighboring Karajá sometime before their first meeting with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911 to 1914, however foreign disease acquired directly from Luso-Brazilians, has steadily decimated the Tapirapé. Unlike the Tenetehara, before the Tapirapé were presented with a broad segment of Luso-Brazilians culture, which might have provided them with alternative patterns and values with which they might have made adjustments to their new circumstances, they have been practically wiped out.

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Still, the difference in population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact of these two tribes cannot be explained entirely in terms of the differences in the contact continuum. The first fifty years of contact between the Tenetehara and Europeans was more violent than anything the Tapirapé have experienced. In the early 17th century organized slave raiding parties penetrated into Tenetehara territory and armed forces such as the one led

(4) There are no indications that the Tenetehara shared the warfare-cannibalism complex of the Tupinambá, but the lower reaches of the Mearim-Grajaú-Pindaré River system and the Island of Maranhão at its mouth were inhabited by Tupinambá groups. Ribeiro (1948) p. 98 ff. See also Fernandes (1949).

Te [71] [101]